

THE COMMONWEAL

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THE CRISIS OF THE PRESS

IF THE already overburdened and harassed editors of the press of the world, the secular as well as the religious press, could find the time to do so, there is perhaps no problem among the multitude of problems which now overwhelm them that calls for more serious attention than the situation of the press itself. Incidental to the universal business crisis, hundreds, even thousands, of publications have either been wiped out of existence, or been merged with others, or are facing desperate financial strain. This is particularly the case in countries such as the United States, England and Canada. But the crisis of the press is connected with circumstances far more fundamental in their effects than the most serious of purely business reasons. In Germany, Italy, Austria, Russia and Mexico the press has fallen entirely under the control of dictatorial governments. Not only the views expressed by the periodicals in these countries, but also the news they supply their readers—even when the news has no direct connection with governmental policies—must be colored, or shaped, by governmental direction. At times, indeed, news

of the most vital importance to the people, and to those leaders of the people who are not part of the governmental machines, is totally suppressed. In still other countries, such as France, and Poland, and Spain, and many other European nations, the press is at least partially under the control of the government, or else is so notoriously corrupt through being subsidized by various interests, that its influence is confined merely to groups of ignorant or credulous readers unaware of the true character of the journals they follow.

While our American press, and the news-gathering agencies which supply the main stream of foreign intelligence, are undoubtedly free from the worst of the burdens weighing down the European press, nevertheless we cannot escape from being influenced by them. Our press representatives abroad have found their already difficult tasks made much more difficult. The really conscientious foreign correspondent—who is the typical member of his profession—too often finds himself up against unscalable blank walls in his efforts to obtain the truth regarding events of the most important description. Meanwhile the very

conditions which so hamper the decent, truth-seeking reporter or commentator afford the careless or reckless or dishonest reporter or writer a harvest of rumors or exaggerations or propaganda fabrications.

More serious, however, than these very dangerous conditions, which cannot help but disturb public confidence in the press, is a growing spirit of distrust of the press, even in lands where the traditional freedom of the press is still the rule. In the great debate now proceeding among the people of the United States, for example, over the many issues involved in our economic and moral crisis, a large and constantly growing body of readers feel that too many of our newspapers are not frankly and openly the organs of editorial opinions, but are really committed to serve a strictly commercial point of view. When, however, such journals are honest about where they stand, and why, the public can still respect them. But the public—at least, a great part of the public—is wondering how far the secular press in general means to continue lessening respect for it by the manner in which it is flagrantly playing up in its news pages, and often in its special features, all the manifestations of moral anarchy which in its editorial columns it will condemn.

For example, many of our newspapers have recently published editorial articles calling attention to the campaign against the motion picture producers launched by the Catholic bishops, and joined by so many Protestant and Jewish religious leaders. That is very well; but how many of the newspapers are there who require their motion picture critics to keep their readers aware of the danger to family life which so deeply and so widely has accompanied the growth of the films? Why should the Associated Press so fully report, in a sort of supposedly humorous style, such as a Broadway "wise-crack" columnist might use, a so-called "marriage" of a nudist couple, at the Chicago exposition, before an audience composed only of reporters and photographers? And why should our supposedly respectable newspapers publish such rubbish? Can it be that the newspapers are falling into the hands of men who, like many motion picture producers, simply do not understand what is meant by moral principles, or the traditions of Christian civilization?

It may be so. But we prefer to believe, at least to hope, that the infection is not as yet deadly. Our American press is still sound in greater part. But it surely cannot be blind to the many signs indicating its loss of prestige with a great section of its own public. Before that loss becomes ruinous to the press, there will surely be a reaction toward better things. In addressing an audience of Roman newspaper workers and their families at the Vatican recently, the Pope thanked them—and by inference the press of the world—for their

notable services in reporting and spreading the news of the Jubilee of the Redemption. What he said would no doubt be dismissed as pious platitudes by the cynical or corrupted journalists of the age; but there are many others, even among men and women not professing religious creeds, who are awakening to the fact that to disregard truth by sneering at it as a platitude is the most dangerous thing a writer, or anybody possessing public influence, can do. And it was to them that the Pope's message was addressed, when he said:

"When your work is consecrated to truth, to virtue, no one can ever measure the beneficial effects, no one can measure the splendor of good accomplished, the light that goes to so many minds, and intelligences, even to the most distant places. . . . But on the other hand, if the words of the writers are not always, or at all, at the service of truth and virtue, then they incur the gravest responsibility, since the way is made open to vast evils and devastating implications, the victims of which cannot be counted. The purpose that is derived from these reflections . . . is admirably expressed in the lofty, incomparable words of Alessandro Manzoni, when to the lords of the word—and journalists are lords of the word, since theirs is also the art of the word, the art of telling—he gave as supreme law this maxim: 'The holy truth never betrays, and never proffers a word that applauds vice and derides virtue.'"

If our American press should ever fall from its high place of freedom and power, it will be because its own lords of the word have betrayed the moral sense of the American public.

WEEK BY WEEK

SLOGANS for the fall elections begin to dangle from the corners of orations. Democrats would ask the common man how the New

The Trend of Events	Deal has affected his life—whether he has observed a tendency to abrogate his rights and privileges, and whether job or income are more satisfactory. Republicans
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have tended to use accusations of radicalism against both the administration as a whole and against individuals in particular, with some spokesmen (notably Mr. Ogden Mills) coming out for capitalism, seen endangered, as the best of all possible worlds. Unfortunately there appears to be no tendency to adjudge the methods adopted to remedy the nation's woes on the specific merits of each. The successes registered and the mistakes made are still a lump sum to the country at large. Nevertheless one may already observe that the size of the "Yes" vote to be rolled up in November will depend very considerably on how the farmer feels about A.A.A. proce-

ture when the summer ends. While untoward weather conditions have made this an exceptional year, there is much discussion of the theory as such in rural districts. In so far as general business is concerned, the figures continue to be much better than the spirit. Psychologically regarded, the nation is still very much in the depression. No doubt the fall elections will serve a good purpose from this point of view, but the thing needful is far more concrete information concerning the whole of the vast Roosevelt plan and more discrimination in making estimates of it. Will the campaign make for clarification by bringing up point after point? Or is it to be just another case of wholesale repudiation or blanket endorsement?

SHAKESPEARE came alive very suddenly in Germany over the past week-end. The methods

which flourished under Kings
The Richard and Macbeth were, how-
German ever, almost child's play com-
Situation pared with the edict of assassina-
tion carried out against dozens of

those whose names have been on every German's lips. How shall one account for this outbreak, or try to sketch the objectives which its perpetrators had in mind? In view of the incomplete information now at our disposal, it is hazardous to venture more than a guess. But if the normal rules of probability are still in vogue, the past week marked the emergence of General Wilhelm Goering. It is inconceivable that Hitler should have decreed the death of his best friends in cold blood, for "reasons of state." Of course he had recently met the fate of all who attempt to transform a political pipe-dream into real government. He himself had come to see that the S.A. was a ball and chain to diplomatic action; that the nation's industrial organization needed quiet rather than turbulence; and that wild-eyed followers are sometimes worse than no followers at all. Perhaps no problem was a source of greater worry than the reconstruction of the Reichswehr. This last the generals wanted to enlarge in accordance with the traditional pattern, while the S.A. really desired a popular army based more or less upon itself. Roehm fought like a tiger for his point of view, and refused to yield gracefully. Of course in a country like Germany the issue of ultimate power was involved. Either the Reichswehr would remain the final arbiter of German destiny, or the S.A. would succeed to its position.

THEREUPON Hitler took the familiar airplane to Munich and once more stormed and raged against his lieutenants. Evidently the scolding administered to Roehm—not the first one—culminated in a characteristic Hitlerian gesture. If Roehm was a gentleman, he would

commit suicide. But the old buccaneer seems to have offered the pistol to his "leader," sardonically, whereupon the great Adolf stalked out of the room. That is how these affairs always ended. Roehm would concede a point, and that would be that. But meanwhile murder on a maniacal scale had thrown Berlin into a panic and had spread through the provinces. Ernst, Heines, Strasser and a dozen other veteran Hitlerites were ruthlessly shot; secret police invaded the home of General von Schleicher, murdering him and his wife in as gratuitous an act of madness as any on record; and—oddly enough—several killings decimated the staff of Franz von Papen. That Hitler should have done these things, we repeat, simply inconceivable. The only man who fits this rôle of executioner is General Goering. Evidently he took advantage of some grant of power from the chancellery to stage a clean-up. There is no other explanation which fits the facts. And therefore the curtain goes down on what can only be the prelude to the bloodiest drama in all German history.

TWO BRANCHES of federal endeavor in a relatively modest though not in any sense unimportant field have made their findings public with great timeliness just after the President's dramatic query to the nation. With whatever result the more thunderous

Ayes may be ranged against the more dissonant Noes in the reply of the people at large to that query, at least the C.W.A. and F.E.R.A. campaign against rats in the South and mosquitoes in the East should meet with more than local approval. In reviewing the first effort, the federal Bureau of Biological Survey notes that about 7,500,000 rodents have been exterminated in Georgia, Alabama and Texas. The first purpose of the campaign was the elimination of typhus germs, of which flea-ridden rats are important carriers. And an immediate and tangible benefit has been the money-saving effected, for rats are notoriously destructive, and it is estimated that the present bag will save the infested areas between \$8,000,000 and \$9,000,000. Against this, the \$700,000 (in round numbers) expended on the drive against the pests does not seem a sum to be grudged or regretted. The war on the mosquito—who is ostensibly a milder scourge, in that he does not, in these parts, carry death or destruction, but who, in the opinion of vacationists, more than makes up for it—has been proceeding meanwhile in Connecticut under the combined efforts of state and local authorities. A large part of the state's 18,000 swampy shore acres have been drained, clogged streams inland have been cleaned and deepened, and new tide gates have been built to prevent the flooding of

low ground. Already, it is said, bathers are flocking back to the many fine beaches which had been virtually deserted. In sum, as it seems to us, these campaigns have not been mere work-finding luxuries; they represent much-needed examples.

LIFE according to "repeal" is of some social concern even to those who recite with genuine amiability the drinking songs of English literature. Everything is not proceeding as had been expected. We had been led to believe that government would be careful to forestall any restoration of the "horrid conditions" which fomented the prohibition movement of yore, and would labor to assure a form of regulation compatible with the elementary principles of safety. Instead the country is witnessing the performance of thousands who have never learned how to drink. The results are often tragic, but they are even more frequently matters for ironic comedy. A people which has raised the goddess of hygiene to the very top of Mount Olympus, which dutifully consumes psyllium seeds, bran flakes and prunes, ruins its stomach at the cocktail hour with the most remarkable abandon. We have watched, again and again, two young people who visibly spend more time than they should taking sun baths drink a quart of Pom-mard apiece at luncheon—a feat which not even a dare-devil soldier might care to repeat often. Surely it is incumbent upon education to remind all that more than a limited quantity of alcohol can play the devil with most healths, and that even beer—which doctors consider the safest of beverages—needs to be handled with care. At the present rate of progress, cases of mild or advanced alcoholism will be as common a few years hence as attacks of smallpox were a century ago.

AN INTERESTING effort to deal with the type of news-stand pornography which recently came under fire in New York City is reported in Union County, New Jersey. A number of complaints in recent years against what are called, by technical courtesy, "art" and "Parisian" magazines, have culminated lately in a very determined charge by the Holy Name Society of the county. As it was evident that the "gentlemen's agreement" whereby the dealers have repeatedly undertaken to cooperate with the public prosecutor in keeping these obscene publications off their stands had lost any effectiveness it may have possessed, the prosecutor met the situation by evolving a system of informal committee censorship. He had appointed a group of representative citizens to pass in advance upon any magazines about which a question might be raised. The dealers, on their part—perhaps

sensing that this time the public means business—have engaged to abide by the advisory opinion of this committee. In case any dealer breaks faith, and exhibits publications previously declared unfit, the committee may make a formal complaint which the prosecutor will receive, and in pursuit of which he will enter action against the offender. The advantage of this method of cleaning up the news-stands is obvious. While it retains the element of legal sanction, the law is used not as the instrument of immediate coercion, but with discretion, and at one remove. This permits the free play of local convictions and of that personal and not necessarily unfriendly persuasion, so important in any lasting solution of this problem, and in small, self-contained communities, usually sufficient to solve it on the basis of genuine good-will.

RECENTLY one of our number was sailed over to Port Washington where two young men and a girl are scraping and refurbishing an old "down east" pilot schooner, preparatory to setting sail around the first of November, with benefit of clergy for one of the young men and the girl. Southward past the palm-crested keys of Florida, past the strange and deserted island of the Tortugas, lonely St. Helena for how many exiles of our Civil War, through the canal to the Pacific, then across vast desert stretches of the ocean to the South Sea islands and finally the Malay archipelago, the old Bangor schooner and her small crew will make way. They have an assignment from a museum of natural history and this will provide a modest stipend and a minor objective. What the major objective is in an adventure of this sort, is anybody's guess. The sea-faring writer, Eric Devine, in a vivid, amusing article, "Mid-get Magellans," in the current *Cosmopolitan*, tells in a short space of the amazing numbers going off on personal adventures in small ships. They are personal rather than social adventures, as compared to the voyages of the earlier discoverers, because our terrestrial globe is so completely known now that there is little left to discover, unless the discovery that one can get away from the swarm and its hum and centrifugal vortices, is possibly important. Harry Pidgeon, who at fifty, built without previous experience, a thirty-foot yawl in his San Francisco back yard, and thereupon sailed single-handed around the world, is probably the archetype of the modern Magellan. For those of us tending drought-stricken corn-stalks on the land-locked plains or toiling away the hours of the day in our little cubicular caves in the hives of industry, these gallant adventurers may serve a useful purpose in leading thought to horizons beyond the immediate circumstances of getting and spending.

MODERN THOMISTS

By JOSEPH C. FENTON

AMONG the Roman students, Thursday is ordinarily a free day. Most of the universities have no classes scheduled, and the students are accustomed to avail themselves of the rest. It offers a fine opportunity for them to see more fully the natural and the architectural wonders of the land of their adoption. It is the ideal time for that trip to Frascati, or for that walk along the shores of the Alban Lake. On Thursday morning the stubby little street cars that run out the Via Appia Nuova are filled with the black-cloaked scholars of the Angelico, the Apollinaris, the Gregorian and Propaganda, on their way across the Campagna to the Castelli.

Yet, every Thursday morning, for a good many years there has been a lecture. No one is obliged to be present. There is no attendance taken. Each year the lectures are based on one of the books of Saint Thomas's commentary on Aristotle's metaphysics. This year they have had an exposition of the eighth book. It is hardly suggestive of a holiday topic, but the largest hall of the Angelico is always filled to overflowing.

The lecturer is a jaunty little Friar. He enters the hall with the cowl of his order over his head, and with a ponderous tome, to which he never refers in the lecture in his hand. When he has thrown back the hood and finished the prayer he inevitably dons a black skull cap which takes up most of his physical activity during the next hour. He begins to speak from the stately cathedra in the front of the room, but from time to time he walks down the steps and into the aisles, stopping occasionally to deliver a friendly and a rather powerful blow on the back of one of his auditors. His Latin is effortless, and there is never a break in the attention of his hearers.

It is only natural that it should be so. Those topics that in the hands of an inferior teacher would be at best dry and colorless assume in his talks an inimitable vitality. In the light of these principles, enunciated by the Stagirite and explained by the greatest of all the schoolmen, the outline and the import of philosophy become increasingly apparent to his hearers. He is insisting on the fundamental theses, not simply as a set of statements that are to be committed to memory, but as vital truths that impregnate and influence every part and every conclusion of

Thomism is today an integral part of such philosophy as interests those who keep abreast of thought, and some of its protagonists are well-known figures. America has heard little enough, however, of Père Garrigou-Lagrange, the French Dominican teacher whose work is to expound Saint Thomas without losing sight of the realities of our time. Dr. Fenton's article is a description of the man and his teaching, as well as a commentary on the work being done at the Angelico and other colleges in Rome.—The Editors.

thought. As his exposition continues, the value and the power of his philosophical insight stand out all the more clearly. The men who listen are for the most part no tyros in the affairs of the schools. The greater number of them have had a fairly exten-

sive training in that very science the lecturer is expounding. Still, they will leave that hall with a finer perspective and a more perfect possession of that truth, and they will realize that they have come in contact with one of the foremost minds of our generation.

The lecturer is Father Garrigou-Lagrange, one of the most interesting and powerful figures in the current Thomistic resurgence, for many years a member of the faculty of Angelico, the Dominican institute of higher ecclesiastical studies in Rome. It is safe to say that no living man, not even Maritain or Sertillanges, has done more to advance the cause of Catholic thought than he. Since the death of Gardeil, his former teacher, and Hugon, his associate, he has been the regularly acknowledged leader of the Thomistic movement. One of the most prolific writers of this generation, he is at the same time one of the most powerful and profound. At the same time, not the least important portion of his activity is his teaching at the Angelico, where his auditory is neither provincial nor merely national, but embraces students from every quarter of the globe. In this way his influence is tremendously more powerful than it would have been had he limited his activity to writing.

Like a good many others of the more imposing figures in the intellectual world of our times, Father Garrigou-Lagrange first came into prominence during the troubled days of the modernist crisis, in the first decade of this century. In the year 1909 he published his first book, "Le Sens Commun." It examines radically the very foundations of the modernist position relative to the validity and the precision of the basic principles of metaphysic and of dogma. It had been the contention of the modernists that these judgments had an import that was purely practical, that they could serve as rather useful guides for the activity of man, but that they were utterly devoid of meaning as expressions of reality. Written to overcome this opposition but not in the least impregnated with the spirit of controversy, this

work stands today as the masterpiece of objective presentation of Catholic thought in this regard.

A few years later, in 1916, he published his most important contribution in the field of Catholic letters, "Dieu, Son Existence et Sa Nature." It is at least indisputable that this work will stand as one of the great books of our era. It is the theological treatise on the unity of God developed with inimitable completeness and profundity. It is the traditional thought of Saint Thomas Aquinas, expressed in modern language, and in the face of modern difficulties, and propounded completely and harmoniously in terms of a modern mentality. That thought of Saint Thomas, adequately comprehended and exposed, is something altogether different from the unconsidered repetition of his principles and conclusions.

Since that time Father Garrigou-Lagrange has written even more extensively. Aside from the readjustments of his earlier works, necessitated by new editions, and his very frequent contributions to the reviews, particularly *Angelicum*, *La Vie Spirituelle*, *Revue Thomiste* and the *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques*, he has produced books of major importance. First of all, there was "De Revelatione," outstandingly successful among the contemporary treatises on apologetics. Then came a work on the basis of mystical activity, "Perfection Chrétienne et Contemplation." Within the past two years there have appeared "Le Réalisme du Principe de Finalité," a continuation of the doctrine of "Dieu," and the theologically devotional works, "L'Amour de Dieu et la Croix de Jésus," "La Providence et la Confiance en Dieu," "Les Trois Conversions," and his latest, "Le Sauveur et Son Amour pour Nous."

Father Garrigou-Lagrange does not owe his preeminence in the realm of Catholic thought to the number of his productions, but to the peculiar vigor and intensity of his understanding. He and his associates are not scholastics in the sense that confines their thought within the rather generous limits of the approved medieval syntheses. With them there is no question of casting about for the most suitable opinion on this point or that. Their thought is organic, and inherently consistent. They are enabled to appreciate reality with a systematic unity of perspective, and therein they derive their force. Their writings are extraordinary, but not precisely original. They are the expression of a thought that is perennial, the system of Saint Thomas.

For one who is not cognizant of the spirit of that school, the insistence of these men on the writings of the Angelic Doctor, and their open and articulate loyalty to him as an individual, may well give rise to a misapprehension. For these modern writers Saint Thomas is something more than a great figure in the history of specula-

tion. They portray him as a hero. They are conversant with his writings and immersed in his thought. In their enthusiasm there is apt to be scant sympathy for those who attack his teachings.

It would be a mistake to suppose that this enthusiasm is the reflection of a mentality that is merely traditional. Father Garrigou-Lagrange and the others of his schools are not in the least interested in the process of repeating the statements of Saint Thomas. They are well aware that thought is a certain possession of reality, and they realize that Saint Thomas long ago expressed an appreciation that was profound and meticulously accurate. They are interested in making that appreciation their own. They are again fully cognizant of the fact that the history of philosophy is not a record of a progress that is uninterrupted, but that there have been instances of failure to attain the excellence of former teachers, and occasions when men have misconstrued the thought of their predecessors. There has been such a misconception with regard to the thought of Saint Thomas Aquinas. The colorful enthusiasm of Father Garrigou-Lagrange and the others of the Thomistic school is, in the last analysis, a reaction against that misconception.

These men must not be looked upon as historians of philosophy. They and the school with which they are identified do not study the "Summae" and the great commentaries simply to fill out their knowledge of the progress of medieval thought, as for instance one might study the writings of William of Auxerre. The quest is not for the dicta of a philosopher, but for that grasp of reality to which the expressions of that philosopher can serve as a most valuable aid. The ideas and the system of Saint Thomas can be personal and valid in the minds of these men as they were in the mind of the Angelic Doctor. Conversely, his teachings can be assimilated by the men of the twentieth century, through his writings and the tradition of his school, just as it could have been by his students at the university through the medium of his lectures.

With this objective mentality the Thomistic school has enjoyed an unprecedented success during the past few years. It is safe to say that the rise and the development of this school constitutes the most interesting and vital intellectual phenomenon of our time. In this movement Father Garrigou-Lagrange has occupied a place apart. He has acted as a formative and directing influence. His immediate contact both as a lecturer and as a writer has been, for the most part, with those who themselves are or are destined to be, actively engaged in the work of teaching. The progressive and victorious resurgence of the system of Saint Thomas will have been due, in no small degree, to the active profundity of this most important of present-day thinkers.

THE BALKAN SLAVS

By MAX FISCHER

THOSE who were familiar with the Turkish village of Ueskueb in the days before the war would hardly recognize it again in the Serbian city of Skoplje, with its many new buildings some of which are as modernistic as you please. No other place testifies so eloquently to the political energy shown by Belgrade during the past fifteen years. The great trade centers of the Macedonian area—Strip, Bitolj and Debar—have suffered by reason of the new boundary lines, which cut off a great deal of the territories they formerly served; and so Skoplje has become, beyond any doubt, the political, industrial and cultural center of the region annexed by Serbia as a consequence of the Balkan and World Wars. It is not merely the seat of the government in charge of Wardar, newest and potentially most prosperous of Serbian provinces, but also the natural traffic center of the Balkan peninsula. The main line south from Belgrade to Saloniki crosses the east-west highways there. Moreover, Skoplje is a cultural center, partly by reason of its theatre which is fully the equal of what Belgrade and Agram have to offer and which serves a public more interested in art than exists anywhere else in the peninsula, and partly—perhaps chiefly—by reason of the remarkable intellectual gifts of the Macedonians, most richly endowed of the Balkan races.

The Macedonian question is a central source of conflict in the Balkans. Anyone who begins to study it impartially, in the sincere hope of finding out the truth, will certainly burn his fingers ere long and be set down by the fanatics of Belgrade and Sofia alike as a public nuisance. All of which is not to be marveled at, since the possession of the Macedonian territory decides who is to be chief of the Balkans. Macedonia is not merely a region of farm lands with a possibly rich future, or a district where vast treasures of minerals and healing waters await exploitation, or the "heart of southeastern Europe." It is also, in the hands of him who controls it, either a bridge from Belgrade to Sofia, or a barrier, as the case may be; and just a few miles below it there looms the Aegean Sea, goal to which all Balkan desires turn.

What shall be said of the Macedonians who inhabit this debatable land? In Belgrade they are dubbed Serbians; in Sofia they are Bulgarians, beyond the shadow of a doubt. The official press bureaus of both cities offer the foreign visitor prodigal supplies of thick and thin "scientific publications" in which each side of the case is "proved" to the hilt. I happen to be one of the

most hated persons in the Balkans, because in a series of articles I once termed the whole controversy a battle of words without much bearing on the facts and declared that the Macedonian belongs "to the people whose fables he learns by heart."

This last statement may sound absurd but is really the plain truth. However much may be written by patriotic professors to show that this land, scene of countless battles, was ruled for a few years longer by Serbian than by Bulgarian czars, however painstakingly it may be demonstrated that Macedonian folk-lore is a shade closer to the traditions of Sofia than to those of Belgrade, the indubitable fact remains that the Macedonians were a South-Slav strain of real individuality when they were conquered by the Turks and that they preserved their characteristics. They took little part in the creation of the Serbian and Bulgarian states. It was not until the late nineteenth century that the Macedonian upper class was educated in Bulgarian schools and indoctrinated in the Bulgarian point of view. Inevitably the Serbians, after their victory in the Balkan wars, began to apply the same religious and educational methods in order to win the good-will of the Macedonians.

This last fact is now proved by the history of the past ten years. The Macedonian people has produced fanatical Bulgarians and equally fanatical Serbians; it has supplied Belgrade and Sofia alike with gifted politicians, industrialists and scholars. But—all questions of a purely historical interest apart—the Macedonians possess no literary language and therefore can be educated to be either thoroughgoing Bulgarians or equally thoroughgoing Serbians. Indeed they must be considered not merely as something to fight over but as the natural adhesive between the two states. The culture of Bulgaria is not essentially different from that of Serbia, as the literature which has grown out of political controversy would have it. The two are simply varieties of Balkan Slavism which history has developed side by side. The nationalistic romanticism of the "Illyrists" has always viewed the Southern Slavs as one people, settled in the region between the Adriatic and the Black Seas and differentiated only by tribal characteristics. Both Serbians and Bulgarians profess Orthodox Christianity and employ the Cyrillic alphabet. As a matter of fact the languages of Bulgaria and Serbia are more closely related than either is to the Slovene; and in custom and national character the two countries are also much more alike than they them-

selves realize after a period characterized by bloody wars and a literature of hate.

The Macedonian question has been the lever used by interested parties in trying to undermine the preponderance of Belgrade influence in the Balkans. Draped in an outworn mantle of romantic slogans, the Macedonian revolutionists—among whom one finds both splendid idealists and unscrupulous political adventurers—attempted to weaken the hold of the Serbians upon the newly acquired territory. This effort would long ago have failed completely had it not been that nations outside the Balkans were interested in weakening the status of Belgrade and therefore willing to spend a little money. A glance at the map will show how difficult it would be to defend the territory involved, lying as it does like a narrow wedge between an Albania controlled by Italy and a Bulgaria strategically dominating it, if the greater part of the Macedonian people really detested Belgrade and loved Sofia. The fact that the Yugoslavian government was able to organize the native population of the district for self-protection against armed bands of revolutionists that crossed the borders is, to my mind, sufficient proof that the thesis of the "Macedonian rebels" is pure hokum. As a matter of fact, peace and order have been completely restored for years in the Macedonian regions, even if the inhabitants are by no means as yet patriotic Yugoslavs. Granted there are no attacks by foreign powers, the Macedonian question will in a few years possess as little actuality as the Montenegrin question does now, in spite of all Italian efforts to fan the fires.

Today the chief political difficulties of Yugoslavia grow out of conditions in the Slovene and Croatian districts of the country. The political evolution of the Yugoslavian nation was for a long time a matter of the mind, even as was the German effort toward unity or the Italian *Risorgimento*. But when the time came to proceed from the realm of idealistic vision to that of plain, ordinary *Realpolitik*, there presented themselves a row of problems growing out of regional differences still sharper and more complex than those which sundered the various provinces of Germany and Italy. Granted that the Slavs who joined hands to create a new state were a single people, there was nevertheless an important difference between those sections of the population which had for centuries enjoyed self-rule and those which had lived either under the yoke of the Turks or inside a modern culture nation such as Austria-Hungary was. The resultant situation showered the government of Belgrade with tasks the difficulty of which has not been sufficiently appreciated by the world at large. Take one example: as a result of the various cultural and political influences under

which the people had lived, there existed in Yugoslavia until 1930 (when Minister Srsbic instituted a reform) no fewer than six different codes of law, each in force in a given district. Since standardization always results in an average product, the result has been that regions formerly belonging to Turkey have profited, while those once incorporated in Austria-Hungary have suffered. The older generation in Croatia or Slovenia nurses its resentment of what is defined as a triumph of the "barbarian East" over a western civilization and is often also unjustly proud of its own traditions.

Yet in spite of everything a large part of the younger generation has come to understand the fact that there is now a Yugoslavic nation, the tasks and problems confronting which are the concern of all. "One people and one state" is a slogan which today has a very real significance for the regions which look to Belgrade for leadership. Some are not content with thinking of the nation as now defined, but dream of the union of all Slavs in the Balkans through the union of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia—an ideal the realization of which is hindered not only by the bitterness which has grown out of the World War but also by the irreconcilability of the two reigning dynasties. At least there is no doubting that a desire to bury the hatchet and to achieve some measure of political and economic co-operation is present in influential circles. Unquestionably the fruition of this wish would be a good thing. It would mitigate the dangers of conflict in the Balkans, and would gradually serve to emancipate the entire region from subservience to French and Italian ambitions. The Macedonian problem would therewith also be definitively settled. Of course all this may seem to belong to a far-distant future, but the political observer must note the probable weather of tomorrow as carefully as he observes the winds and storms of today.

Humble Simile

Even as a snail am I, that in the dark
On her poor blind occasions goes with pain,
For whom thus fancy speaks: What is this ark
I bear so hardly? What hid ends constrain
Me to this bitter way, this lumpish load?
Tender as water I, and short my time,
But I must travail on, fouling my road
With a sad ichor, with a hated slime—

But here as ever mark the end. The sun
Arising swims above the shadows dun,
And by eternal justice seen aright,
Lo how each cruel stone for her doth keep
Who in her secret cranny lies asleep,
Long rainbows, strings of pearl, records in light.

RUTH PITTER.

THE CASE FOR DECENTRALIZATION

By JOHN MARION EGAN

WITHIN the next few months, several clauses of the National Industrial Recovery Act will probably be declared unconstitutional for the reason that they attempt to usurp the reserved powers of the states. Before we join in the protest which will arise, it is only fair that we should consider the reasons that actuate the members of the Supreme Court when, by their decisions, they restrain the federal government to stay within the limits of the powers granted to it in the Constitution.

Throughout the history of our federal government, our country has contrasted strikingly with those having centralized, bureaucratic governments, in the following respects: (1) The great freedom of our people from restraints upon individuality and progress, as contrasted with their irritating, detailed, strait-jacket regulations of the daily life and liberty of the individual, with the consequent tendency toward mediocrity. (2) Our protection of the natural rights and liberties of the individual and minority, as contrasted with their frequent infringement of those rights and their recurring, wholesale persecutions of minorities. (3) The wonderful stability of our government, notwithstanding the widely diverse classes of people subject to it, as contrasted with the frequent revolutions, so costly in blood and treasure, which have upset their governments and stained their history.

This contrast has been due to the decentralization of the government of the personal matters which are the subject of the contrast, with an independent Supreme Court, not subject to intimidation by the governing legislature or executive, to protect the natural rights and constitutional liberties of the individual and minority from the selfish or bigoted organizations temporarily in control of the particular state or local government, or from the injustices of legislative action taken while under the influence of one of the extreme winds or waves of public opinion or passion, which so frequently affect the actions of popular legislative bodies. The right of appeal to our federal Supreme Court has constituted a safety valve through which oppressed minorities have been able to vent their emotions and assuage their grievances, which might otherwise have accumulated and smoldered until, fanned by some ambitious firebrand, they burst into the type of bitter revolt so frequent in Europe and Latin America.

Yet if Congress is permitted to take over the regulation of the dangerous personal matters, the safety valve will soon be destroyed. The dom-

inating power of Congress over the Supreme Court has been evident in the manner in which the latter has always gone out of its way to find an excuse for sustaining the constitutionality of acts of the former, even though such acts were not such as would arouse bitterness or strife if they were not sustained, as would be the case if they were personal matters. This timidity toward Congress has been in marked contrast with the lack of hesitation (even ill-considered in a few cases, such as the leading maximum hour case) with which it has declared acts of state legislatures unconstitutional, though the members were well aware, in several cases, that their action would arouse a storm of local wrath. If Congress is permitted to invade similar fields of legislation, the court will be unable to uphold the rights of the individual or minority against its expressed will when supported with determination by a powerful political organization, and with one failure as a precedent, our Constitution will follow those of European countries into the scrap heap. With the enormous bureaucracy that will follow, whether controlled by an unrestrained political faction under the forms of democracy or, upon its failure as in Europe, by a personal dictator, mediocrity, red-tape and rut-forming formalism are certain, and oppression of minorities almost sure to follow, with no outside power to correct the wrongs; and the great size of our country will make the extent of the wrongs the more odious. We have just experienced how a Southern minority was able to maintain its prohibition imposition against strong Northern opposition while the one constitutional authority for personal legislation existed, although the South had itself experienced somewhat similar impositions when Northern fanatics imposed the Negro-carpetbag rule upon it without constitutional authority.

To relieve the pressure against the Supreme Court resulting from the agitation of the Hamiltonian nationalists, the Jeffersonian defenders of decentralized government have had to fight a continuous struggle in defense of the rights of state and local governments, but at no time have the odds against them appeared so great as at present. Those who believe that the strength of a nation lies in its centralized military strength, rather than in the less obvious strength existing in freedom from threats of revolution, riots and civil commotion on a large scale, have always been powerful adversaries, but the Fascist insanity which is bloating the national and racial pride of most nations of the world and inflaming the in-

tolerance and hatreds of other nationalities and races to a white heat, so as to threaten another international conflagration, has tremendously increased the number and vociferousness of this class. Moreover, the great improvements in transportation and communication in recent years have brought the various sections of our country so much closer together in time, that there has been a necessity for the federal government to extend the use of its powers over interstate commerce more and more. As a result, those numerous optimists who base their judgments concerning legislation upon the tendency of the times, especially if it has some justification, conclude with the militarists that our progress should be measured by our speed toward centralization.

Influenced by the increased prestige of their positions under a more powerful national government, by the increased number of votes coming from an increased patronage, and by pressure from job-seeking constituents, from lobbyists of fanatical organizations interested in the promotion of their particular interests, and from private organizations interested in private gain, the members of Congress have taken advantage of the increased Hamiltonian strength and the public opinion supporting an increase in the use of interstate commerce powers, and gradually have undertaken in recent years to regulate in detail the state appropriations for many very personal and local purposes clearly within the reserved powers of the states, and have set up armies of office holders to supervise the administration of the appropriations. For example, section 168 of the federal statute title, Public Health, requires that a state desiring to receive federal funds shall establish a state agency to "cooperate" with a federal board and Children's Bureau, which agency shall

submit to the Children's Bureau detailed plans for carrying out the provisions of this chapter within such state, which plans shall be subject to the approval of the board.

Section 171 provides that the federal funds shall be withheld whenever the majority of the board shall consider that the state

has not properly expended the money paid to it or the moneys by this chapter required to be appropriated by such state.

Similar officious strings are attached to the fifty-fifty appropriations for the aid of education, agriculture and other state functions.

The state legislatures, with their more limited functions and greater knowledge of local conditions and desires, could, on the average, regulate these matters with greater wisdom, much greater satisfaction to the individuals affected, much less overhead expense, and more direct responsibility to the electorate, while leaving the attention of

Congress to be concentrated upon federal problems, and the attention of the President to be concentrated upon improving the topheavy administration of properly federal matters. But the legislatures have, in general, accepted the officious regulations with scarcely a murmur of complaint because the regulations have been accompanied by an assumption by Congress of the responsibility of collecting one-half of the taxes required for the particular purpose—a responsibility which the legislator, seeking to avoid the customary, vote-losing, direct state taxes, highly appreciates.

When, after long delay, the constitutionality of these congressional appropriations was finally questioned in the case of *Massachusetts versus Mellon*, 262 U. S. 447, the federal Supreme Court showed its usual timidity toward Congress and refused to disturb them, without passing upon their constitutionality, stating as its reason that a state had no interest in the appropriations, other than its right to accept or reject their benefits, and the individual taxpayer had too insignificant an interest to justify an interference with an appropriation of Congress. The question whether or not the Supreme Court would recognize that the appropriation could be separated from the unconstitutional regulations accompanying it and grant to the state refusing to accept the regulations a writ of mandamus to compel the federal disbursing officer to pay to it its proper proportion of the appropriation, notwithstanding the refusal, was not raised in the case.

In raising such a question, the state would be assuming that Congress has the power to appropriate money to assist the states to attain the general purpose sought by the framers of the act, but it would deny that Congress can attach conditions to its acceptance which would rob it of its sovereign rights. More specifically, the court should hold as nullities the attempts of Congress and its army of bureau office holders to dictate to the state what laws and regulations it shall adopt in connection with the subject-matter of the appropriations, what administrative organization it shall choose, what procedure it shall follow, how the state's funds shall be expended, and how much the state shall appropriate for the general purpose which Congress desires to promote; provided the state uses the federal funds for that purpose. Hamilton, in his 1791 report on manufactures, states, concerning the power of appropriation by Congress for the "general welfare":

The only qualification of the generality of the phrase in question which seems to be admissible is this: That the object to which an appropriation of money is to be made must be general, and not local; its operation extending in fact or by possibility, throughout the Union, and not being confined to a particular spot.

No objection ought to arise to this construction from a supposition that it would imply a power to do whatever else should appear to Congress conducive to the general welfare. A power to appropriate money with this latitude, which is granted, too, in express terms, would not carry a power to do any other thing not authorized in the Constitution, either expressly or by fair implication.

If the Supreme Court will refuse to grant such a writ, there would appear to be no limit upon the power of Congress, not only to usurp all the reserved powers of the states by crowding them from all common sources of revenue and using the funds to bribe their legislatures to accept the usurpation, but also to compel them to pay over all the exclusive revenue they still retain as it or its bureaus direct, in order to obtain their share of the federal funds.

The second instalment of this article will appear in the next issue.

FLOWERING IN A PHRASE

By MUNA LEE

A SCANT half-dozen times in my own experience, human beings have in single sentences given the essence of themselves; utterances leaving on the hearer a never-to-be-diminished sense of having stood for one moment at a life's center, whereon all dreams and tendencies converge. Five of these sentences I heard as they were uttered, casual doors leading inward; one antedates my time. That one was Don Ramón Baldorioty de Castro's retort, winged with divine guile, to a heckler in the Spanish Cortes when, as delegate of Puerto Rican slave-owners, Don Ramón demanded of Spain that slavery be abolished in Puerto Rico, with or without compensation to the owners. Don Ramón was my mother-in-law's godfather, and I have the story from her.

There was at the moment strong opposition in Spain to the Puerto Rican demand, and the attitude of the Cortes was unfriendly. When Baldorioty de Castro rose to speak, tall and commanding, brown from the tropical sun overlying bronze of remote Indian ancestors on his face, a mocking voice called from the opposition, "How *dark* the day is getting!"

Don Ramón smiled benevolently.

"Be patient, my friend," he counseled; "for as I speak, it will grow brighter and brighter."

Hispanic and oratorical, but perfect to its occasion, that is not unlike another epigram theatrical too, but none the less the *mot juste* for that: the auto-portrait of a hack-driver in a town among the hills of northern Mississippi. William Faulkner's town, as a matter of fact. The man himself was that not unfamiliar figure in the South, the son of an old family who had seen the family fortunes dwindle and vanish, and, taking to drink, had himself sunk to the lowest depths. From those depths he had pulled himself up to the seat of the town's one hack, in great demand for dances, weddings and funerals. He

was completely un-sorry for himself, no hypochondriac, no neurasthenic. Apparently he liked his hack.

"I used to lead society," he remarked with a flick of his whip, "but now I drive it."

Back in the mists of childhood, at the beginning perhaps of recognition of potential agony of the spirit, is the mulatto house-boy at Grandfather Lee's. His name was Bob Owens, and when I was five he must have been about eighteen. (He was to die a year or so later from tuberculosis.) Everybody liked Bob Owens, soft-eyed, soft-spoken, always doing the thing that needed to be done before it was requested. Not far from Grandfather's were mineral springs and a big frame hotel which drew visitors from Jackson and Vicksburg and even from New Orleans. Every year there was a grand ball to open the season; not a dance, but a ball. Thirty years have not healed the heartbreak in Bob Owens's voice as he watched the surrey-load of flowered silks and black coats drive off one evening to the ball at the Wells:

"If I could jes' be white for tonight, jes' for this one night!"

And there was a man who stood at a door in a state asylum for the insane and watched a chattering psychology class from a Midwestern university file past him. Flip-pant sophomores, we were resolved not to be impressed as his eyes searched each face in turn; but when the Doctor who was herding us asked, "How are you today, Charley?" we caught his answer's utter definiteness once and forever:

"I'll know her when she comes."

In the Indian Territory before it was a part of the state of Oklahoma, on the day when a public school was opened for the first time in Hugo down near the Texas border, a pioneer farmer came in to the drugstore with his grandchildren to buy books; and he fell to talking about the wondrous thing an education is. He himself, it appeared, had lived far from schools as a boy, and would have had no opportunity to attend in any case; but he knew that learning was good, and now that he was seventy-two and his sons were taking on the hard labor, he had time at last to learn to read: his grandchild was teaching him. Schoolbooks were piled on the counters. There was an air of excitement through the store; and a smell of fresh print and new cloth bindings mingled with the familiar drugstore odors of menthol and drying fly-paper and faint effluvia of chocolate syrup. The old farmer fingered the books and said with proud satisfaction:

"It won't take long for me to learn to read 'em now; I'm getting along fast: I already know A and O."

Of course there are other phrases—a life accumulates so much bric-à-brac. There are shattering phrases, lovely phrases, phrases witty and ironic which exactly hit off a person or a situation; phrases like Luis's comment on an office-holder who flaunted public opinion and yet writhed horribly under criticism, "The fact that the governor is always in hot water doesn't mean that he is hardboiled!"

But all that is something else, the comment from without. Another's estimate has never the rich completeness of the sudden word from the inner self.

SEVEN DAYS' SURVEY

The Church.—The new government of Manchukuo, inaugurating an educational drive designed eventually to set up one school for every 150 families, has discovered that there are already 293 Catholic schools in the territory with 6,348 boy students and 3,994 girls. The total population is 30,000,000. * * * Reports of native missionary clergy come from Uganda, where in May forty-six young Negroes received major and minor orders. In Uganda there are now over sixty ordained African priests. Also in Phat Diem, Indo-China, the native Annamese bishop recently ordained a group of young natives so that now there are 103 natives among the clergy and many more in minor orders. * * * Señor Enrique Matorra, former secretary of the Spanish Young Communists' Central Committee, was recently received into the Church. * * * The Chicago Province of the Society of Jesus announced the gift of the West Baden Springs Hotel from Edward Ballard, its non-Catholic owner. Before the depression, the spa, a palatial institution near French Lick Springs, Indiana, was valued at \$7,000,000. The provincial schools of philosophy and science and later of theology will occupy the new property. * * * On the shore of the Lake of Genesareth, at the traditional site of the multiplication of loaves, a chapel, built by the German Lazarist Fathers, was recently dedicated. Two years ago, there were discovered on this spot mosaics of an ancient sanctuary illustrating the miracle. * * * In Holy Trinity parish, Cincinnati, the last white parishioner was buried two weeks ago. Now the parish is made up of 1,300 Negroes whom the pastor, Father Walsh, has himself brought into the Church. * * * Father Cornelius E. Murphy, pastor of the Chapel Car of St. Peter from North Carolina, has been visiting New York in his church on wheels. In North Carolina, where there are only 7,000 Catholics, $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 percent of the population, Father Murphy in his car administers to the scattered people of the backwoods, carries on missionary work, and attempts to reduce anti-Catholic prejudices.

The Nation.—As another Fourth of July passed with sundry bangs and firework displays, the people of the country to some degree felt and looked like fireworks as a protracted heat spell caused them to swelter. Temperatures in Kansas and Nebraska were in the hundreds, and drought conditions were increasingly serious, while in St. Louis the Associated Press reported fourteen successive days of ninety-degree temperature. The hot weather covered practically the entire United States. * * * General Johnson announced that Henry Ford had almost accepted the NRA automobile code and Ford car dealers would be eligible to bid for government contracts if a letter of compliance was signed as expected. * * * Chairman Fletcher of the Republican National Committee opened the party's campaign for the fall congressional elections in a radio address calling the New Deal "government

from above" and undemocratic, and strongly defending the Declaration of Independence. * * * Pan American Airways and the Railway Express Agency announced door to door express service between points in the United States and 150 cities in South and Central America. Three years of negotiation with governments of thirty Central and South American countries have culminated in arrangements by which express formerly held up weeks and months by red tape can now be expedited in a few hours. The 23,000 stations of the Railway Express agency become export and import depots for business men of the continents in this hemisphere through a twenty-year contract signed with the air transport company. * * * Members of a machine-gun gang robbed a South Bend, Indiana, bank and later kidnaped a doctor to treat the arm of one of its members who had been shot. The doctor was slugged unconscious with the butt of a gun when he refused narcotics to one of the band, who then ransacked his office, cut telephone wires and disappeared.

The Wide World.—Attention was naturally concentrated on Germany. After a week of rumbling and rumor, the news agencies suddenly flashed to the week-end world of June 30 afternoon reports of murder on a grand scale throughout Germany. Hitler and Goebbels had flown to Munich, remonstrating there with Captain Roehm and others. These men were kicked out of the party, arrested and later shot. The available reports do not indicate that any members of the Nazi Bavarian government were ousted or assassinated. Meanwhile Prussia, left under the command of Goering, heard automatics bark in a veritable reign of terror. Vice-Chancellor Von Papen was arrested, a number of his aids and friends were slain or jailed, and the Reichswehr (professional national army under the command of General Von Blomberg) was ordered to prevent the assassination of Von Papen at any price. Some of the most famous veteran Nazis in Berlin, Silesia, Saxony and the Rhineland were executed by firing squads, the number of murders done being at present unknown since foreign press correspondents are still cut off from sources of news outside Berlin. A delegation of S.S. (Hitler's special "bodyguard," clad in black uniforms) was sent to the home of General Kurt von Schleicher, monarchist and specially detested foe of Goering, there to do murder in cold blood. Dr. Erich Klausener, for years a prominent government official and recently appointed leader of non-political "Catholic Action" by the Holy See, was likewise brutally shot down. Later dispatches indicated that in some instances the executions had been preceded by court martial hearings, presided over by Heinrich Himmler, sinister and reticent commander of the S.S. No commentator felt able to make head or tail of the proceedings, but in general the "reign of terror" was held to be an attempt to liquidate the S.A. (brown-shirted popular army which had mustered

more than 2,500,000 men) and to suppress such political Catholicism as had banded together more or less under the protection of Von Papen. There were rumors of armed resistance by brown-shirt organizations in various parts of the country. The supreme command of their "groups" was entrusted to a nonentity."

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World Press Shackles.—Censorship was once a case of "Thou shalt not!" in Italy, Spain and the Balkan countries according to *Editor and Publisher* for June 30. However, "In ten European countries (including Russia) more than 300,000,000 people—306,460,860 according to the 1920 census to be exact—today are not told what they cannot read or print, but what they must read and publish, and believe. . . . Misinformation has been found to be as potent in national affairs as poisonous wartime propaganda was in international affairs. . . . What the German, Italian and Russian people today think about their neighbors is exactly what the Nazi, Fascist and Bolshevik leaders want them to think. . . . Add the 60,000,000 people of these half-censored countries (Poland, Rumania, Greece, Spain, Esthonia and Latvia) to the 306,000,000 of the ten super-censored nations, and around 74 percent of the people of Europe and Russia are today absolutely at the mercy of the infinitesimal minority which rule." Only in France, England, Sweden, Holland and Czechoslovakia is the press as free as it was at the end of the war, and in France, particularly, the newspapers are dominated by powerful political and financial groups. *Editor and Publisher* quotes Bruce Bliven to the effect that two-thirds of the world's population is now living under complete and rigid censorship and eight-ninths under serious restrictions on free speech of a governmental character, while only one-ninth or about 228,000,000 enjoy the degree of freedom from formal newspaper censorship that we have in the United States.

Some Reflections on Democracy.—What are the most democratic countries in the world today? In a brilliant essay contributed to the June *Esprit* of Paris, Aldo Dami answers that they are monarchies. "Democracy" and "dictatorship" are to him "politico-social structures," while "monarchy" and "republic" are merely "formal régimes." He continues: "From certain points of view, therefore, democracy is actually farther advanced under many monarchies than it is under most republics. Denmark now has, as did England a short while ago, a socially minded government. Women vote there, and the electoral system is based on proportional representation. The nation has even sponsored complete disarmament. Furthermore the most absolutistic government of Europe, prior to the appearance of Fascism, was that of Switzerland, which is certainly very republican and which will seem very democratic or not democratic at all, according to one's point of view." M. Dami explains by saying that the monarchies became the real heirs of the French Revolution because, in the effort to conserve their power, they made numerous social and political concessions to the people.

New Branches of Government.—Important commissioners and administrators were appointed by President Roosevelt before leaving Washington. The Securities and Exchange Commission, with sweeping authority for the control of stock exchanges, was designated to be as follows: Joseph P. Kennedy, George C. Mathews, James M. Landis, Robert E. Healy and Ferdinand Pecora. Mr. Kennedy is a financier and personal friend of the President; Messrs. Mathews and Landis are members of the Federal Trade Commission; Mr. Healy, counsel for the same; and Mr. Pecora was counsel for the Senate Banking and Currency Committee in the investigation which preceded the shaping of the law under which the Securities and Exchange Commission acts. "In connection with the Department of Labor, but not subject to the judicial supervision of the Secretary of Labor," a National Labor Relations Board was appointed to investigate and mediate labor disputes. The board removes this function from the NRA and from the present National Labor Board. Its members are: Lloyd Garrison, dean of the Wisconsin Law School, chairman; Harry Alvin Mills, head of the department of economics at the University of Chicago, and Edwin S. Smith, present Massachusetts NRA labor compliance officer. Administrator for the \$3,000,000,000 house building and renovating act (outlined in these columns June 29), will be James A. Moffett, a prominent oil executive and intimate friend of the President. The latter also appointed a board to investigate communications services by telegraph, telephone, cable and radio and report to Congress means for their supervision, and another board to investigate and make recommendations on all phases of aviation.

Toward Social Security.—President Roosevelt has just appointed a committee to attack the increasing insecurity that besets the individual and the family in modern industrial and agricultural life. Convinced that neither time nor automatic economic readjustments will provide the solution, the administration envisions active measures by which the federal, state and local authorities will cooperate to control and direct economic changes and considerably lighten the inevitable maladjustments. The President's new Committee on Economic Security is made up of the Secretary of Labor, the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Attorney General and the Federal Relief Administrator. An advisory council of fifteen or twenty of the nation's leaders in the fields of labor, commerce and industry, social welfare and state and local government will conduct hearings to determine the interests involved in these fields and then send these findings together with its own recommendations to the President's committee who will formulate the security program. Unemployment, old age and unemployability, industrial accidents and occupational diseases, non-industrial illness and disability, widowhood and the economic aspects of maternity are specific problems that are to be discussed. Opportunities for wider private and government employment, social insurance of all kinds and public relief are remedies to be considered in the construction of this nation-wide security program.

Farm Mortgages.—Land prices fixed in times when speculative excitement was not confined to Wall Street form one reason why the picture of rural life grows no brighter. Accordingly certain groups of politicians devised the Frazier-Lemke bill, which the President signed last week. This legislation takes the farmer a step beyond the point to which even the New Deal was expected to go. Under it a husbandman who dislikes the results of proceedings according to the individual bankruptcy law may petition the court to appoint appraisers who shall fix the "fair and reasonable" value of his land. If he then elects to agree with the appraisers, he may reside on his farm during six years, paying 1 percent interest annually on the total, and reducing the principal according to a stagger schedule. Should the creditors, or some of them, dissent, the farmer can stay put for five years, paying an annual rental specified by the court. The law was obviously devised to prevent rural landowners from giving up in despair, and to afford a way of crawling out from under debt burdens. Critics are, however, by no means in agreement as to the practical advantages of the bill. Secretary Wallace believes that it will undermine the farmer's credit, since the persons put at a total disadvantage are those who accept his I. O. U. for machinery and supplies. Others hold that the only form of private farm financing destined to remain is the first mortgage computed on a basis of 40 percent of the appraised valuation, so that purchases of land by payment of a small equity will become a thing of the past.

The Life of the Church.—The seventeenth Liturgical Week was held this year, June 3 to 7, at Liège, Belgium. At the opening sessions Monsignor Kerkhofs, Bishop of Liège, described the aims of the week as follows: "To glorify the Holy Eucharist, to give the Eucharist as sacrifice and as sacrament the central and sovereign place in the life of Christian people, to lead the faithful to a more conscious and more active participation in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and to more frequent, more fervent and more fruitful Communion." Every morning at seven o'clock 2,000 persons of every age and station assisted at a pontifical high Mass. Brief instructions from the pulpit helped them to participate with greater understanding, to join in the chant and to receive the Eucharist with a united intention. Doctrinal questions concerning the Most Blessed Sacrament were discussed at the plenary sessions which took place later in the morning. Afternoons were devoted to the practical problems of liturgical action. Reverend A. D. Sertillanges, O.P., whose "Foundations of Thomistic Philosophy" was translated into English a few years ago, delivered a discourse on "The Eucharist and the Church." In a talk on the "Hierarchy of Eucharistic Acts" Dom Bernard Capelle, a great apostle of the liturgical movement, declared that admirable as were acts of purely private devotion they were of a much lower rank than "acts established and regulated by the Church, the Most Holy Bride of Christ."

* * * *

Rail Workers' Gains.—President Roosevelt's "personal security" speech was in general forced into a future tense by the failure of the Seventy-third Congress to pass such bills as the Dill-Connery old age pension measure and the Wagner-Lewis unemployment insurance bill, but for railway workers social security came closer through the congressional labors. Before sailing away the President signed the Railway Pension Act, "the finest piece of railroad legislation since the eight-hour day was achieved in 1916," according to A. F. Whitney, retiring chairman of the Railway Labor Executive Association. The pension laws provide for a deduction of 2 percent of the workers' pay and 4 percent of the entire payroll furnished by the companies, to be put into a fund which is expected to reach at least \$90,000,000 a year. A three-man commission appointed by the President will administer this fund. Men can be retired at sixty-five years of age, upon completion of thirty years' service, or for disability. The size of pensions will depend on previous earnings, but will never exceed \$120 a month or more than two-thirds of average salary when active. About 100,000 men will be retired this year alone. Ninety percent of the railway mileage in the country is owned by roads which already have some sort of pension plans, and which the new law will make more uniform and will impose upon the rest. Railroad workers will also receive \$4,000,000 more in wages this month, when they get the first of three raises arranged previously under threat of strike. This first one is 2½ percent, the second, due January, will be the same, and the final one, to be added next April, will be 5 percent. Altogether they will make up for the 10 percent depression wage cut.

Mass Money.—Reports recently issued show that forty-two American life insurance companies control \$17,417,000,000. This is 85 percent of the life insurance business of the country. Into the coffers of insurance companies more than \$10,000,000 a day are now being paid, \$425,000 more than last year. Of our population of about 130,000,000, between 68,000,000 and 70,000,000 hold life insurance. This compares with about 10,000,000 stock holders and 8,000,000 holders of bonds. During the first five months of 1934, 5,661,054 new policies and certificates were taken out as against 4,934,000 in the corresponding period of 1933. In this period, group certificates, usually undertaken by an employer for his workers, took the largest proportional jump. Last year, during the first five months, 63,000 such certificates were taken out, and this year 154,293, a rise of 145 percent. There were 1,385,582 ordinary life policies taken out this year compared with 1,218,000 in 1933. The average size of these new life policies this year has been \$1,749, which is \$7 less than the new ones of last year and \$519 less than the average for all outstanding policies. The forty-two leading companies report \$2,022,000,000 invested in various government obligations, \$6,868,000,000 in stocks and bonds, and \$5,457,000,000 in mortgages. Their policy loans total \$2,915,000,000, and their cash and real estate, \$421,000,000. Their assets went up \$397,000,000 during the twelve months ending with April 30.

THE SCREEN

By RICHARD DANA SKINNER

The World Moves On

MANY excellent and moving scenes are included in the sprawling and ungainly story of a century which Fox Films have put together under the title of "The World Moves On." It is a strange combination of the international family business idea of "The House of Rothschild," of the war panorama of "Cavalcade," and of the mysterious link between past and present generations of "Berkeley Square." The story also draws in a bit awkwardly and abruptly a note of religious faith. The picture begins and ends with the close-up of a crucifix.

One does not question the sincerity of the producers but rather their understanding. Their treatment of the religious motif, of the French member of the Girard family who becomes a priest after the war, of the Viaticum being given to the dying, of the contrast between the materialistic orgy from 1918 to 1929 and the Christian ideal—all this is reverent and well handled as to detail. But it has the flavor of something forced into the story. It does not emerge spontaneously.

The following instance may be cited: The story opens with the reading of the Girard will in New Orleans, in which the dead father instructs his sons to start an international business. The close-up of the crucifix on the living-room wall fades into the scene of the family around the table. The will is read, the sons agree to its terms, the family oath or compact is pronounced, and not one word in that oath indicates any feeling that the family welfare is being placed in the hands of God, something which would have been the natural and spontaneous idea of a family presumably religious enough to justify that first glimpse of the crucifix. This same lack of connection between the secular and religious aspects prevails throughout the story, giving, as I have said, an impression of a forced union of the two ideas.

In other respects, the film is very uneven. There is a hint of reincarnation in the romance between the Mary Warburton and the Richard Girard of today. The parts are taken by the same actors who appear in the 1825 prologue as an earlier Mary and Richard whose love was frustrated. The modern characters keep feeling that they have met before, and recognize old scenes and bits of music. This theme, too, is a forced and a needless reminder of "Berkeley Square."

The war scenes of the play are exceptionally fine—although marred by useless comedy "relief"—and make strong anti-war propaganda. At intervals there are episodes of strangely moving quality, thanks largely to the excellent work of the new British actress, Madeleine Carroll.

On the whole, the picture is a case of ambition to do a fine thing unmatched by sufficient freshness of imagination or by sufficient sense of proportion. (At the Criterion Theatre.)

COMMUNICATIONS

THE MAJOR DOUGLAS DELUSIONS

London, England.

TO the Editor: In reply to M. P. Connery's protest in your issue of May 11 that my criticism of Douglasism is too "sweeping," I would say that it is certainly no more so than are his own statements, or those of his prophets. And I doubt very much if Father Coffey is an economist in the accepted sense of the term. Anyway, I entirely disagree with his "commendation" of the social credit movement made, incidentally, twelve years ago.

The Douglas conception of a "just price" is far too simple—it is simply inadequate. In a complex economy it is impossible to separate past, present and future production from each other. And since capital is used up in producing consumption goods, consumers necessarily have to pay for the former in the prices of the latter. As for its control, this is exercised to some extent by such investors as are interested in the matter, though whether this control is desirable is another question.

The cost of new capital goods is *not* "made a part of the price of present consumption goods." As I pointed out in my article of March 23, the error here lies in imagining that the banks provide long-term credit, and promote chronic inflation! But the finance of fixed capital is almost entirely provided by saving and investment, while bank credit is mainly used to transfer goods in process of production and is thus only inflationary if increased too rapidly relative to industrial development.

The "price of commodities" is not "set in anticipation of the quantity of capital goods that may be constructed," though of course anticipated construction will affect the speculative prices of the raw materials concerned, and by engendering optimism may bring about a rise in the prices of other primary products. And it is nonsense to say that there is no profit in producing "perishable" goods, for these are the least affected by depressions.

It is true that there is some resemblance between Marx's theory of "constant" capital creating lack of purchasing power and the Douglas delusion, but this does not make either of them more correct.

GEOFFREY BIDDULPH.

A WORD ABOUT MARITAIN

South Natick, Mass.

TO the Editor: Two letters to THE COMMONWEAL of June 1, one of Professor Mercier, the other by Miss Byles refer to my article, "A Word about Maritain," in THE COMMONWEAL of March 23, and raise five questions which I now answer.

(1) Who are the French Babbitts? My answer: Massis, Seillière, Pierre Lasserre (deceased), Bainville, and likewise Maurras, Daudet, and most of the members of L'Action Française.

(2) What is "Babbittism"? Answer: It is a philosophy which tries to prove the existence of God by showing how necessary God is for the preservation of some human good. Among the Babbitts of France the good is French civiliza-

tion. Among English-speaking Babbitts it is culture or "good literature," or even "good painting."

(3) Is there a deep difference between Babbitt's humanism and that of Maritain? There is. Maritain's theo-centric humanism values culture only as it leads toward the contemplation of God. Babbitt's humanism values God as God helps toward the maintenance of culture.

(4) Does Babbittism fall with Cartesianism? It does, for it is based on the false dualism established by Descartes. Although Babbitt complains of the deleterious effect of Cartesianism, he does not bother to find out wherein it is untrue; and his method of correcting its deleterious effect is by teetering on the two fragments of Descartes's philosophy: naturalism and idealism. To keep himself afloat he rests most of his weight on idealism, but the two fragments are like ice-floes that melt, and when they go down he must go down, no matter what posture he takes.

(5) Is it right and needful to separate a Maritain from a Babbitt? Yes it is. Otherwise they cannot be good friends or good allies. What good is an ally who does not wear his true colors?

DANIEL SARGENT.

THE BEST LIVING BIOGRAPHER

Webster Groves, Mo.

TO the Editor: The Sixth Annual Contest of the International Mark Twain Society (Webster Groves, Missouri) for the best letter on the subject, "The Greatest Living Novelist of My State, and Why," has been won by Paul B. Winston of 136 West 168th Street, New York City, for his letter on Robert Nathan of New York, the author of "One More Spring." The judges for this nation-wide contest were Professor Alex Buchan, Carroll Sibley, and Librarian Eleanor C. Shallcross, all of St. Louis.

In the course of his prize letter, Winston said: "Robert Nathan is like no novelist writing in America today. His independence of literary fads and cliques is complete. . . . He continues to confront sordidness and corruption with gentle irony instead of loud raillery, and to express himself in a lucid, poetic prose in place of the harsh gravelly prose that rasps and grates and fills the air on every side, and is commonly known as naturalism in literature."

For its Seventh Annual Contest the society is offering a prize of \$25 for the outstanding letter on the subject, "The Best Living Biographer of My State, and Why." Letters should approximate 600 words in length and must reach us by September 1.

Willa Cather has just accepted the silver medal of the society offered because her work, "My Antonia," was chosen in our Fifth Annual Contest as "The Most Representative American Novel from 1900 to 1932." This medal has previously been conferred upon Booth Tarkington, Rudyard Kipling, Hilaire Belloc and W. W. Jacobs.

CYRIL CLEMENS.

BOOKS

Capuchins in America

A Romance of Lady Poverty, by Rev. Celestine N. Bittle, O. M. Cap. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company. \$4.50.

SELDOM if ever has a story been told about the American past which will compare for religious interest with the narrative which Father Bittle was privileged to write. In 856 two young priests—Gregory Haas and John Frey—came to the United States for the purpose of establishing the Capuchin Order somewhere in the Archdiocese of Milwaukee. Neither had previously worn the habit of Saint Francis; both had been active as young secular priests in Switzerland. But somehow they agreed that life would have no savor for them unless they did the very quixotic thing of which they had dreamed. The journey was rough and their companions vile. Practical difficulties barred the way time and time again, so that it is no end of a wonder they should have got to a destination of any kind.

On a lonely glacial hill between Lakes Michigan and Winnebago, which they called Mount Calvary, they set to work making a monastic home. Father Celestine furnishes all the details of this somber but inspiring history of quarrels, dissensions and wrestling bouts with despair. Only through a kind of accident did tranquillity finally come to the new monastery so that the work which its founders had dreamed of could be undertaken. The Capuchins began to be an important factor in the Catholic life of eastern Wisconsin. People liked to have them as pastors; the clergy trusted their piety and disinterestedness. Mount Calvary itself became the site of a college. Through these halls passed hundreds who later became priests or influential laymen. Today the college is a preparatory seminary and as successful as the hearts of the founders could have desired.

The Capuchin Province of St. Joseph likewise established branches in other parts of the United States. Detroit and New York are, perhaps, the principal centers where settlements were made. As time went on, the order took up work traditionally associated with it. Missionary labors among the Negroes, boy work in large cities, and the apostolate of popular preaching have been carried on with fervor. Thus from humble beginnings there has sprung an honored monastic establishment.

Father Celestine is a painstaking and lovable historian. The following words by Dr. Peter Guilday, which are part of the introduction written for the book, are so accurate that I must repeat them here: "Every shade and color of human emotion is depicted in these pages; and it is to Father Bittle's credit as well as to the scholarly honesty of his superiors that letter after letter in this revelation is given without hesitation and with that refreshing frankness and honesty which are so characteristic of the present historical school of the sons of Matthew of Bassi." A valuable and attractive contribution has been made to the annals of the Church in the United States.

GEORGE N. SHUSTER.

For the Under-dog

Social Reformers: Adam Smith to John Dewey; edited by Donald Wagner. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$3.25.

THIS anthology of short biographical sketches and longer extracts of the most-remembered ideas of many leaders in socio-economic thought carries the reader from the late eighteenth century down to our own day. The interest of the early part of the book is largely historical. Adam Smith was so diffuse that he is quoted to support a variety of opposing theories, while the utilitarians and other exponents of *laissez-faire* are largely discredited today. Among the first critics of this dominant social theory who are included by Professor Wagner, Sismondi was the most far-seeing. Over a century ago he predicted only too accurately the disastrous consequences of economic liberalism. The editor then presents several curious Socialist utopias which agree at least in their advocacy of community kitchens. Charles Kingsley's "Cheap Clothes and Nasty" (1849) is a graphic and scathing denunciation of certain London sweatshops and their patrons. Particularly interesting are Bishop von Ketteler's well-rounded, Christian observations on the social question, especially when one considers his practical accomplishments in the organization of the German workingman.

On the whole, however, it is the later pages of the book that hold the greatest interest for the general reader. Here he can find enough of Marx and Lenin's interpretation of Marx to recognize the justice of their indictment of the capitalistic system and to understand what underlies developments in Communist Russia. Alfredo Rocco's exposition of Fascism is all that is needed to dispel the idea that there can be any real affinity between Fascist ideals and those of the Church, for he conceives the state as the "infinite series of the past, present and future generations constituting it" and "liberty, like any other individual right [is] a concession of the state."

To come upon Leo XIII's "Rerum Novarum" in the midst of these embattled theories is an inspiring experience. In comparison with the other "social reformers" the great Pontiff had so fatherly a solicitude for the welfare of every individual, although he recognized that the needs of the worker demanded special consideration, that he invested the social question with a spirituality quite removed from the outlook of those who persisted in viewing man chiefly from an economic point of view.

EDWARD S. SKILLIN, JR.

Second Instalment

Passion's Pilgrims, by Jules Romains. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.50.

THE SECOND volume of M. Romains's monumental novel—the first appeared last season under the title which in the French original is given to the whole work, "Men of Good Will"—confirms the impression that another novelist of a high order has at last arrived. Of course M. Romains is no tyro, and his previous books were all works of no ordinary quality, but in "Men of Good Will" he has accomplished something which in

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CRITERION

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France was last reached in Romain Rolland's "Jean Christophe," a novel of epic sweep and world-wide significance. There will be those who will affirm that "Men of Good Will" is not really a novel at all, but a series of novels with little or no external connection. This objection can hold good only to those who believe that the novel is not fluid in structure, but must have a hard and fast unity, not only of spirit and atmosphere but of character and plot. Those who feel that the prime virtue of the novel form is its variety will agree that M. Romain has written a work of extraordinary power and richness of character.

Moreover what was felt in the first volume is emphasized in "Passion's Pilgrims"—that in spite of crime and weakness and selfishness, life taken as a whole has sanity and even nobility. M. Romain is not of the futilitarians, and despite some frank passages he is not obsessed with sex. He sees life steadily and tries to see it whole, a man whose very freedom of intellect and liberality of soul enables him to see the good in the old as well as in the new. And like all the truly great creative writers he has humor and sweetness of mind. He can paint childhood and adolescence with exquisite tenderness, and can draw maturity with a pencil ironic yet loving. At times, as in his chapters dealing with Quinette, the intellectual criminal, he is a little too long drawn out. Quinette is Balzacian, and would be more telling were there less psychological analysis. But how masterly are many of the other figures: the old maid, Mlle. Bernardine de Saint-Papoul; the actress, Germaine Baader; the broker, Riccoboni; the deputy, Gurau; Helene Sigeau; and that most delightful canine, Macaire!

Less ambitious than Rolland, who in "Jean-Christophe" chose the spirit of all France and Germany for his canvas, Romain has limited himself to his own Paris, but in doing so he has projected a microcosm of France and of many things which transcend national boundaries. Those who love the fine things in literature will look forward with eagerness to the succeeding volumes.

GRENVILLE VERNON.

The Great Cardinal

John Henry Newman—*The Romantic, The Friend, The Leader*, by Sister Mary Aloysi Kiener. Boston: The Collegiate Press Corporation.

IT WAS after the Romantic Movement as a literary reaction had reached its zenith that the Romantic Movement as a spiritual revolt against religious sterility found expression. This expression was the Oxford Movement of which Newman called himself the "rhetorician" but of which he was really the soul. Romanticism, when touched by religious passion, revealed itself under new but easily recognizable guises: a quickening of the individual conscience; a sense of the immediacy of God and of mysterious forces doing His bidding behind the thin veil of reality that surrounds us; an eager interest in a past, centuries nearer the sources of Christianity, vital with faith and glorified by ritualistic beauty; an insistence on the value of intuition in the quest for truth. It is these characteristics, charged with personal emotion and

expressed in almost perfect prose, that justify Sister Mary Aloysi in naming Newman a "Romantic."

Justification of a study of Newman as a Friend may be found in the not infrequent statement that he was too ego-centric for genuine friendship. His own sister declared: "To become his friend the *sine qua non* is to see everything with his eyes and to accept him as a guide." Sister Mary Aloysi takes issue with this point of view but as she fails to indicate how much that she deems friendship lacked the essential parity implied by the term and as she scarcely touches Newman's relations with Faber, Wiseman and Manning, she so simplifies a complex matter that, despite her ardor, she fails to inspire conviction.

In the sense that Newman was a great spiritual force and an educational seer he was unquestionably a "leader." On the first count the evidence is overwhelming; on the second Sister Mary Aloysi points to the "Idea of a University," the latter-day emergence of the National University, and the expert testimony of an American investigator. So far, however, as the term "leader" implies such skilful dominance as subdues contrary influences and molds them to its own purposes it fails to fit Newman, who, on his own admission, lacked the necessary "strength of wrist" and, on the word of his secretary in Ireland, ignored those persons who did not accept his ideas.

Despite certain limitations, this study has a variety of virtues. It reveals a deep sympathy for Newman, an intimacy with his works and with the large body of critical opinions thereon, and a realization of his essential romanticism. Finally, it presents an excellent bibliography brought down to 1933.

JOSEPH J. REILLY.

Good Fiction

One Smoke Stories, by Mary Austin. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. \$2.00.

THIS latest book by Mary Austin contains thirty-two stories, of which about half can be described conveniently as folk-lore, and the rest cannot be described conveniently at all. There is one story, for instance, about a gentleman who found excellent reasons for not remaining in heaven. There is another character who, unable to locate his trousers on the very greatest occasion of his life, "was as nearly excited as it is permitted even a mixed blood to be." There are records of others who were sustained or broken by graver things; there are animals, including bears; spirits, including ghosts, and enough, but not too much, of the ways of the wind in the chaparral.

None of this can be considered very startling news. And yet if, on this particular day, you should be highly minded to turn your back forever on your fellow men, I can recommend for the restoration of your good-will and thinking, "The Politeness of Cuesta La Plata." I would suggest "The Alcade of Ojo Verdoso," to anyone who has lost his keenness for reading and to the young (or anyone not too old to learn) "The Spirit of the Bear Walking." For each and all I prescribe "The Last Antelope," which indeed is very fine.

VINCENT ENGELS.

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Briefer Mention

*Saint John Bosco, Founder of the Salesian Congrega-
 tion, by Reverend Henry Louis Hughes. St. Louis: B.
 Herder Book Company. \$1.25.*

THIS is another of the modern lives of the saints and
 exemplary followers of Christ being published in this
 country by Herder. It tells much in a simple, lucid man-
 ner, but sacrifices something by the jumping around in
 time and place of its chapters. If a plainer coherence had
 been followed, the perspective in history of significant
 events of the saint's life might still have been given. Also
 brevity while having its own merit has demanded its toll.
 Still it is an admirable introduction to, or short contem-
 plation of, the life of a proletarian saint, one of the people
 and for the people, for the improvement of their condi-
 tion, especially for the poor and forlorn young people.
 He was not a clown of God, though often oddly erratic,
 but an acrobat and tight-rope-walker (literally) for Him.
 His famous preventive methods and emphasis on "do's"
 rather than "don'ts" in the training of the young are
 shown in their stemming from practical experience, and
 the growth of the now great Salesian Congregation and
 of the Daughters of Mary are sketched in as the extension
 of his benevolent life on earth.

*The Elder Henry James, by Austin Warren. New
 York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.*

MR. WARREN has written an interesting, from sev-
 eral points of view, genuinely valuable book. If one over-
 looks certain minor befuddlements and grants the legiti-
 macy of the central assumptions, this biography will afford
 a pleasant introduction to aspects of American intellectual
 history too frequently ignored. James sponsored a philos-
 ophy of intuition, to which he approached out of dis-
 satisfaction with orthodox Protestantism and assent to
 the method of Swedenborg. He was not so much eccentric
 and centrifugal, regarded in the light of his time. The
 "philosophy" he would substitute for "religion" has, of
 course, only a spiritual reason for being; and the Catholic
 will be interested to find that conclusions which are for
 him orthodox have their counterparts in the opening of
 the windows of recent theological speculation to currents
 which are not so much mystical as theocentric.

CONTRIBUTORS

REV. JOSEPH C. FENTON is stationed at St. Ambrose College,
 Davenport, Iowa.

MAX FISCHER, formerly correspondent for the *Deutsche Allge-
 meine Zeitung*, is an authority on Central European affairs.

RUTH PITZER is an English poet whose books include "Poems."
 JOHN MARION EGAN sends us this article from Wisconsin.

MUNA LEE (Mrs. Luis Muñoz Marin), is secretary for pub-
 licity of the University of Puerto Rico, and the author of "Sea
 Change."

EDWARD S. SKILLIN, JR., is a member of THE COMMONWEAL
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 author of "The Image in the Path."

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VINCENT ENGELS writes occasionally for THE COMMONWEAL and
 other magazines.